UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3284
30 September 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 30 September 1993, at 6.30 p.m.

President:	Mr. Taylhardat	(Venezuela)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. HE Yafei
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. McKINNON
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Russian Federation	Mr. LOZINSKIY
	Spain	Mr. PEDAUYE
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. RICHARDSON
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER

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93-86695 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 6.45 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF SYMPATHY TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF INDIA IN CONNECTION WITH THE RECENT EARTHQUAKE

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): At the very outset of the meeting, I should like, on behalf of the Council, to express deep sympathy to the Government and the people of India with regard to the great tragedy it has experienced as a result of the major earthquake that occurred in the state of Maharashtra last night. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing our feelings of profound shock and sorrow at the tremendous loss sustained by the people of India in terms of human lives and material destruction. I would like to express, on behalf of the Council, our sincere condolences, grief and solidarity to the Government and the people of India.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE (UNPROFOR)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 743 (1992) (S/26470 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 743 (1992), documents S/26470 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/26513, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like also to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/26464, letter dated

(The President)

17 September 1993 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of Yugoslavia addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/26491, letter dated 24 September 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/26513) before it.

Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 869 (1993).

There are no speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.

UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3285
1 October 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 1 October 1993, at 8.15 p.m.

President:	Mr. SARDENBERG	(Brazil)
Members:	Cape Verde	Mr. PEREIRA
	China	Mr. HE Yafei
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. MOTOMURA
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. LOZINSKIY
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER
	Venezuela	Mr. BIVERO

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93-86722 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 8.25 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of October, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Adolfo Raúl Taylhardat, Permanent Representative of Venezuela to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of September 1993. I am sure that I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Taylhardat for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month. It was for me particularly gratifying to witness the performance of this distinguished representative of Venezuelan and Latin American diplomacy.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE (UNPROFOR)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 743 (1992) (S/26470 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 743 (1992), documents S/26470 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/26525, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations. Operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution should be completed by adding the following words at the end of the paragraph: "5 October 1993".

(The President)

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/26525) before it.

If I hear no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 870 (1993).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, the Security Council will meet at 4 p.m. on Tuesday, 5 October 1993, to take a decision on the draft resolution contained in document S/26518.

The meeting rose at 8.30 p.m.

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3286
4 October 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 4 October 1993, at 4 p.m.

President:	Mr. Sardenberg	(Brazil)
Members:	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. LAMASSOURE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. TAYLHARDAT

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93-86740 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: I should like at the outset of the meeting to acknowledge the presence at the Council table of the Minister for European Affairs of the French Republic, His Excellency Mr. Alain Lamassoure, to whom, on behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome.

At our last meeting, I announced that in accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, the Security Council would meet at 4 p.m. on Tuesday, 5 October 1993, to take a decision on the draft resolution contained in document S/26518. It has, however, been possible to advance the scheduling of that meeting to this afternoon.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE (UNPROFOR)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 743 (1992) (S/26470 AND Add.1)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Mr. Granic (Croatia) took places at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I welcome the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Croatia, His Excellency Mr. Mate Granic, to the Security Council.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 743 (1992), contained in documents S/26470 and S/26470/Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/26518, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like also to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/26464, letter dated 17 September 1993 from the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/26468, letter dated 19 September 1993 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/26491, letter dated 24 September 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/26517, letter dated 30 September 1993 from the Permanent Representatives of China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General transmitting the text of the statement issued on 30 September 1993 by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the five permanent members of the Security Council following a meeting with the Secretary-General.

(The President)

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 871 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. LAMASSOURE (France) (interpretation from French): It has not been easy to negotiate this resolution, for it is not a routine extension of the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). The Council has had to take into account the concerns of the parties and new operational needs.

Last Monday the Council heard President Tudjman submit to it a series of requests. The French Government understands the disappointment and impatience of the Croatian authorities and people. UNPROFOR has now been deployed for a year and a half, and yet there has been hardly any progress on the political situation in Krajina. Croatia still has to deal with many refugees and displaced persons within its territory. At the same time, we must emphasize that the presence of UNPROFOR has made it possible to prevent the recurrence of large-scale fighting - its first task; and fighting would have undoubtedly recurred had the Blue Helmets not been present on the ground.

Could the Council respond as fully as possible to Croatia's requests without running the risk of promising more than it could deliver? That is precisely what the Council has attempted to do. The resolution we have just adopted establishes a balance between the legitimate concerns of the Croatian Government and the means available to the Council and to UNPROFOR.

The Croatian authorities have had the wisdom to understand that the hoped-for improvement in the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the eventual establishment in that country of a large-scale peace-keeping operation would have a positive impact on the situation in their own country. That would also enable the international community to take a comprehensive approach to the various stages necessary for the resolution of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.

From an operational standpoint, the Secretary-General has proposed extending to Croatia provisions relating to close air

(Mr. Lamassoure, France)

support which already apply to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Given the requirements, which we are told are purely technical, the Council has of course not been able to take a decision on this matter today. However, we understand that it will be able to take action next week. In this connection we note the commitments given the Council by the countries that will be involved, along with us, in providing such protection.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): Let me congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this important month. We look forward to working under your wise guidance. Let me also congratulate the Permanent Representative of Venezuela for the extremely good way he led us last month, during which there was so much work to be done.

The United States considers this action to extend the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) essential to the international community's efforts to minimize the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, to prevent it from spreading, to provide humanitarian relief and, most important, to facilitate negotiated solutions to all aspects of the conflict.

Although much attention today has been focused on the operations of UNPROFOR in Croatia, it is important to emphasize that UNPROFOR's mandate and the effects of its extension apply with equal importance to Bosnia and Herzegovina and to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

In considering this resolution we have paid careful attention to the views of the Government of Croatia, especially its concern that the Vance plan has not been put into effect. We share this concern. We view this resolution as an attempt to energize the parties to begin the difficult process of implementing the plan, and we will exert our energies to this end.

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

However, we must remind all of the parties to the conflict that they bear a heavy responsibility for the failure to make progress on the peace plan, just as they will earn the credit for its successful implementation. My Government cannot subscribe to and will not accept gratuitous criticism of UNPROFOR in Croatia for its alleged failure to implement the plan.

What is important is to look to the future, as this resolution does, and begin the difficult work of implementing the plan in good faith. As a part of this process, the United States calls specifically on the Croatian Serbs and on Serbian authorities to show by their actions that they are prepared to work for a peaceful resolution, in keeping with the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and the rights of all its citizens. Let me be clear: the Serbian authorities must stop their interference in the internal affairs of Croatia and must end their military, political and other support for the Croatian Serbs.

Finally, I wish to make it clear that while this makes UNPROFOR (Croatia) one of the subordinate commands within the integrated command structure of UNPROFOR as a whole, the resolution establishes no precedent for the command and control arrangements for any peace-keeping force led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) that might be employed to implement a peace agreement in Bosnia.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States for her kind words addressed to me.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): I should like to join my colleagues in congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am convinced that your outstanding talent and rich experience will provide excellent guidance to the work of the Council during this month. I also wish to thank your predecessor,

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

Ambassador Taylhardat of Venezuela, whose efficiency and fruitful work have left a very deep impression on us.

For various reasons, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the Republic of Croatia has yet to carry out its mandate fully. It has, none the less, played its role in preventing the escalation of conflict and safeguarding the safety of civilians in United Nations protected areas and areas nearby. The Secretary-General in his report noted that the deployment of UNPROFOR in Croatia is still helpful in containing the tension in that region and that complete withdrawal of UNPROFOR would lead inevitably to the escalation of conflict. The Secretary-General has therefore recommended that the mandate of UNPROFOR be extended once again. We support the recommendation of the Secretary-General.

With regard to the deployment of United Nations peace-keeping operations and the extension of their mandates, the precondition is to obtain the prior request or consent from the host countries or the parties concerned. We have noted that the Croatian Government has agreed to the extension of UNPROFOR's mandate, and the resolution just adopted reflects its request in that regard. In view of the foregoing, the Chinese delegation voted in favour of the resolution.

His Excellency Mr. Qian Qichen, Vice Premier and Foreign Minister of China, recently visited Croatia and exchanged views with the Croatian leaders on some major issues, including that of United Nations protected areas. In seeking a solution to the conflict between the Croatian Government and the local Serbian authorities, there are two important points to be borne in mind: first, full respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Croatia and, secondly, a political solution within the framework of the principles set out by the International Conference on the

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

Former Yugoslavia and the resolutions of the Security Council. We urge the Croatian Government and the local Serbian authorities to settle their disputes at an early date through dialogue and negotiations so as to ensure that UNPROFOR can soon fulfil its mandate, in a comprehensive manner, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions.

China has always advocated the peaceful settlement of disputes and opposed the use or threat of force. UNPROFOR is deployed in Croatia for the purpose of peace-keeping, and we are neither in favour of invoking Chapter VII of the Charter in peace-keeping operations, in an attempt to stop war by expanding the scope of war, nor in favour of using sanctions as a means to resolve conflicts. Therefore, we have reservations on certain elements in the resolution. In addition, prudence should be exercised with regard to the extension of air support to UNPROFOR in Croatia so as to avoid further complicating the matter and adversely affecting the political-settlement process.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): First I should like to extend my delegation's congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Its activities, as we have seen, are off to a rather intensive start. By the same token, I should like to pay a tribute to the competence with which our Venezuelan colleague, Mr. Taylhardat, guided the work of the Council last month.

The Security Council took a decision a moment ago on the draft resolution to extend the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia. The resolution is the result of laborious consultations and complex discussions. The Council's action has resolved the problem of the immediate future of the mandate, just as it has clearly illustrated the difficulties arising from non-compliance with relevant resolutions of the Council, and more particularly the serious shortcomings in the implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping plan for Croatia.

We fully understand the frustrations felt by the general public and the Government of Croatia. We are aware of the scope of the extraordinary problems which are still pending and which have continued to become more and more serious since the beginning of the United Nations operation in Croatia. Because of this, the conditions prevailing in that country are matters for concern; reason and restraint may break down even more, the danger of an escalation of new armed conflicts is very real, and the continuation of the status quo can only make more alarming an already tense situation. We are bound to note that one third of Croatian national territory continues to be beyond the authority of the Republic of Croatia, with all that that means for the daily life of its people and for the infrastructure of the country.

With the approach of the expiration of UNPROFOR's mandate the Security Council found itself in a delicate situation, wishing on

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

the one hand to maintain the United Nations presence in Croatia and on the other to meet the legitimate concerns of the Croatian side. We welcome the fact that the Council was able to live up to the task of the moment and to produce a text which, in the final analysis, was mutually acceptable, both to the Security Council and to the Republic of Croatia.

Hungary voted in favour of the resolution because in the current circumstances it wished to maintain UNPROFOR operations on the territory of Croatia and to do everything possible to prevent a resurgence of armed hostilities along its southern borders. It gave its support to the resolution because it sees in it also a faithful reflection of the special problems facing the Republic of Croatia and the entire region concerned. It hopes thereby to help to create there the necessary conditions for a peaceful settlement of all disputes on the basis of respect for the principles of territorial integrity and the rights of ethnic communities.

It also expects that the Council's action today on the extension of UNPROFOR's mandate might have a favourable impact on the diplomatic process designed to achieve a just and equitable solution in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Given the decision taken today by the Council to extend UNPROFOR's mandate for a longer period than in the past, we shall expect, two months after the adoption of the resolution, a report from the Secretary-General on developments affecting Croatia, from which we will then have to draw conclusions as part of a review of the mandate of UNPROFOR. In this, as in the other parts of Yugoslavia, the Security Council cannot shirk its responsibilities, responsibilities incumbent upon it under the United Nations Charter.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Hungary for the kind words he addressed to me and to my predecessor.

Mr. YANEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): We congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We feel sure that with your experience and great abilities you will guide the Council's work in a disciplined and wise manner. We assure you that you can always count on the Spanish delegation's full cooperation.

I should also like to express my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Taylhardat of Venezuela for the effective and competent manner in which he presided over our work in September.

The Spanish delegation voted in favour of the resolution the Council has just adopted. We are particularly glad that the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has now been extended with the unanimous support of the members of the Council.

We welcome that because we firmly believe that UNPROFOR's mission within the territories of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has been and continues to be of crucial importance.

The continued hostilities, the dangers facing the constituent units of UNPROFOR, and the restrictions on its freedom of movement have limited UNPROFOR's ability to act. Despite this, UNPROFOR has made a substantial contribution to the containment of volatile, explosive situations and has also made it possible for the humanitarian aid essential to the survival of the civilian population to be provided. Thanks to UNPROFOR we have been able to a certain extent to ease the terrible fate that has befallen millions of human beings.

I should like once again to pay tribute to the magnificent work done by the men and women who have so well served - in some cases even with their own lives - the cause of peace and mankind. Spain, which is proud to be participating in UNPROFOR, would also like to express its appreciation to the co-Chairmen of the Steering

(Mr. Yanez Barnuevo, Spain)

Committee of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia, Mr. Stoltenberg and Lord Owen, for their efforts to achieve a peace agreement acceptable to all the parties to the Bosnian conflict. The coming winter threatens to bring a humanitarian tragedy even greater than the one already confronting that country.

It is primarily for the parties to solve all these problems, and we urge them to engage in a gradual process of restoring mutual confidence that could lead to a settlement of the conflict. UNPROFOR's objectives are necessarily limited, and a lasting solution can be found only through political dialogue.

As for the situation in Croatia, my delegation wishes to say that the United Nations protected areas are an integral part of the Republic of Croatia, and its sovereignty and territorial integrity must be respected. This is without prejudice to any measures that have to be taken to protect the legitimate interests of the minorities and the human rights of all.

We understand the frustration felt by the general public in Croatia at the non-implementation of the Vance plan, but we must continue to try to attain the objectives set by the Security Council. It is for this reason that we support the resolution just adopted; we share the Secretary-General's view that the withdrawal of UNPROFOR could only lead to further conflict, with unforeseeable consequences.

We hope that in the next few months decisive steps can be taken with a view to implementing the Vance plan and the relevant Security Council resolutions.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Spain for the kind words he addressed to me and to my predecessor.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I should also like to express my deepest appreciation to

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

Ambassador Taylhardat, who presided over the Council in an excellent manner during the busy month of September.

Last June the situation in Yugoslavia was fraught with uncertainty. The Security Council thus adopted resolution 847 (1993), which introduced a mechanism for maintaining close contact between it and the Secretary-General and for allowing it to adapt the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to respond to evolving circumstances.

Now, three months later, we note that there have been some developments in the negotiations towards establishing a framework for peace in Bosnia. Japan continues to urge the leadership of the parties concerned to further demonstrate the political will to settle the outstanding questions so that the process can move forward and culminate in a durable peace. Upon the conclusion of a peace accord the Council will be called upon to determine how it might best assist in its implementation. This will perhaps require some adjustment of UNPROFOR's mission and structure.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

Turning to Croatia, we note the willingness demonstrated by President Tudjman and other leaders of the Republic to continue discussions with the members of the Council on the question of UNPROFOR. The cooperation of Croatia is indispensable to the effective functioning of UNPROFOR, and we thus attach great importance to continued dialogue with the Croatian leadership, but I am afraid that there are few grounds for optimism.

The current situation in Croatia is a source of particular concern. There is a danger that the conflict could escalate and spill across national boundaries. Japan is convinced that the presence of UNPROFOR should be maintained, and with a feasible mandate.

The situation in the former Yugoslavia is unique in its complexity. The Council's consultations and its adoption of resolutions 869 (1993) and 870 (1993) indicate the various difficulties underlying this question. The resolution we have just adopted reflects the sensitive aspects of UNPROFOR's mandate, namely, those surrounding the interrelationship of circumstances in Bosnia and Croatia and the need for the Council to demonstrate once again its readiness to take special measures to ensure the safety of peace-keeping personnel. Japan appeals to all the parties concerned to heed the clear message contained in the relevant paragraphs, and to refrain from any acts of violence or any action that might impede the work of UNPROFOR.

I should also point out that part of the resolution relates to the consequences of non-implementation of the Council's previous resolutions, and once again urge all the parties to cooperate fully in discharging their responsibilities.

At the same time, it is essential for confidence-building between the parties to be strengthened if there is to be progress in the political negotiations and if, ultimately, a just and

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

comprehensive settlement is to be achieved. I am gratified that the resolution has been carefully drafted with this end in mind and that it sends a strong and unambiguous message.

The challenges before the Council are daunting, but they are not insurmountable. I believe that the Council, through the renewed mandate of UNPROFOR, will be capable of addressing all the complexities of the situation. It can do so, however, only if it has the understanding and cooperation of the people in the former Yugoslavia.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Japan for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor.

Mr. KEATING (New Zealand): Mr. President, I too should like to welcome you to the presidency of the Council and wish you well during the month of October, and I should also like to join other colleagues in thanking Ambassador Taylhardat of Venezuela, who assumed the presidency at very short notice and proved an excellent President.

It seems to my delegation that there is one very important lesson to be drawn from our discussions over the past week, and that is that the Council, and the Secretary-General's Special Representative, have been obliged to divert so much of their energy to the crisis in Bosnia that the situation in Croatia has suffered by comparison. Given the intractable nature of the conflict in Bosnia, this preoccupation is not surprising, but we have to do better, and the resolution is a very good basis.

It was very helpful to my delegation, in discussions leading up to the resolution, to be able to hear directly from the Government of Croatia, in the person of President Tudjman, and for the Council to have an exchange of views with him. We can understand the frustration of the Government of Croatia that achieving what it regards as a legitimate national objective should

(Mr. Keating, New Zealand)

prove so elusive. The Government and the people of Croatia have had to be very patient. We commend their willingness to act in this way, and hope they will continue to do so.

The Council, likewise, has had to act carefully and take due account of the political situation. We should not act in any way that might make the prospects for a political settlement, whether in Croatia or in Bosnia, more difficult to achieve.

New Zealand supported the resolution because we value and approve the mission of UNPROFOR in Croatia, in Bosnia and in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. That commitment is also evidenced by the inclusion of New Zealand personnel in the UNPROFOR force.

The tasks that UNPROFOR undertakes may be seen by some as less than adequate. We do not agree with this view. We think that UNPROFOR is making a valuable political and humanitarian contribution. We should be loath to see those tasks curtailed in any way.

Indeed, we extend our heartfelt thanks to all the personnel of UNPROFOR, both civil and military, and other, associated United Nations personnel, for continuing with this task in very dangerous and sometimes difficult situations.

Finally, let me stress that there is a clear message to the authorities in Belgrade that there can be no early relaxation of sanctions if there is no cooperation in the full implementation of the Vance plan for Croatia.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of New Zealand for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor.

Mr. TAYLHARDAT (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, allow me first of all to thank you for the kind and generous comments that you and other members of the Council have made in connection with my term as President during September. I

(Mr. Taylhardat, Venezuela)

should also like to thank the other members of the Council for their commendations.

I, in my turn, thank the members of the Council for the support and very valuable cooperation I received during my term, without which my work as President of this important body would have been more difficult.

I should also like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your accession to the presidency, and to assure you that I personally, and the delegation of Venezuela, are prepared to offer you all possible cooperation in order to contribute to the success of your presidency.

The renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has been approved in exceptional circumstances in the context of the peace efforts of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: firstly, despite the innumerable difficulties inherent in the complexity of the conflict, negotiations on Bosnia and Herzegovina are continuing, and we trust that they will soon come to a successful conclusion; and, secondly, in Croatia we find ourselves faced with a set of agreements which, because it has not been possible to implement them, are affecting UNPROFOR's credibility and its ability to operate there.

Our delegation understands the problems created for the Republic of Croatia by the difficulties UNPROFOR is facing in implementing the peace plan. Venezuela fully agrees that it is a matter of urgency to restore the sovereignty of the Government of Croatia in the United Nations protected areas.

(Mr. Taylhardat, Venezuela)

We are also aware that, for Croatia, the lack of progress in the implementation of UNPROFOR's mandate poses a constant threat to its territorial integrity. However, we must also keep in mind the Council's obligation to prevent any resumption of hostilities in Croatia, which would have inevitable consequences for peace and security throughout the region, particularly for the civilian population.

Our delegation would like to express its concern over the frequent violations of the cease-fire, the flagrant violations of the arms embargo and the increasingly constant attacks on United Nations personnel and the personnel of other international humanitarian organizations. These violations are committed by all parties to the conflict and are serious obstacles to the implementation of the United Nations Protection Force's mandate. Only if there is respect for and full implementation of the cease-fire agreements and the resolutions of the Security Council will UNPROFOR be able to discharge its mandate and contribute to the full exercise of sovereignty by the Croatian Government over the United Nations protected areas and the "pink zones".

UNPROFOR has gradually become an extremely complex and difficult operation as a result of the functions it has had to assume in fulfilment of the resolutions of this Council. From a peace-keeping operation deployed in the United Nations protected areas, it has gradually expanded its mandate, which now also includes Bosnia and Herzegovina and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. It is not only a multidimensional, complex and extremely dangerous operation, but also an operation which is very closely linked to the negotiating process and the humanitarian crisis in the region. When the Security Council extends the mandate of this Force, it has taken into account all of these elements, without forgetting that its main objective is to ensure

(Mr. Taylhardat, Venezuela)

that firm peace agreements are reached and that a period finally begins for reconstruction of civilian society and of political structures based on tolerance and respect for the rights of all minorities.

The delegation of Venezuela has voted in favour of extending UNPROFOR's mandate as expressed in this resolution, which is the result of a balanced, objective and careful analysis of the present situation. As a result of this resolution, the civilian population will continue to have a minimum guarantee of security while political and diplomatic efforts to restore peace continue. I would like to emphasize the reaffirmation of the Security Council's commitment to ensure the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and that of all the Member States where UNPROFOR is deployed.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Venezuela for the kind words he addressed to me.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): I would like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council, and to note that already this month - particularly in the preparation of the resolution we have just voted through - you have shown that characteristic which is so essential for a President of this Council: patient perseverance. I would also like to thank the Ambassador of Venezuela for his remarkable stewardship of this Council during the month of September.

The British Government attaches the greatest importance to the renewal of the mandate of UNPROFOR in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. We believe that in each of those three places in its different way UNPROFOR is playing a worthy role in coping with situations which are often close to being out of control and liable to be even more

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

serious threats to international peace and security than the present situation.

It is a source of some regret to us that there is so much criticism of UNPROFOR. We feel that if you stop to think of what the situation would be like if it were not there, you would get some idea of the benefits that come with this huge deployment of men, humanitarian effort and preventative action.

As to the renewal, we particularly value the continuing role of UNPROFOR in Croatia. We feel that if UNPROFOR was not in Croatia the situation there would be all too likely to deteriorate, and the possibility of hostilities in the protected areas and elsewhere would become even more real than it is already.

But we do sympathize with the views expressed by the Government of Croatia that the role of the United Nations cannot be a static one, that it is there to seek to move forward to the full implementation of the Vance plan. In that context, we would like to underline the importance that is played in implementation by all parties concerned. Nearly everyone has a major role to play - the Government of Croatia, the inhabitants of the areas under United Nations protection, and Governments such as the Government of Serbia and Montenegro that are mentioned in this resolution for a very good reason. We feel it is right that they should be mentioned because it is right that they should be asked to cooperate fully with the implementation of that plan. That is not a threat; it is an invitation to remove a serious menace to peace and security in the region. Their cooperation in removing it will in our view be to the benefit of all concerned.

Finally, I would like to say that we hope very much that the two Co-Chairmen of the International Conference for Yugoslavia will continue their efforts in all parts of the former Yugoslavia. Their task is a pretty ungrateful one. They, too, are often

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

subjected to a lot of criticism, but we feel that it is through the peace process which they embody that solutions will have to be found, and we hope that they will continue to work hard, both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia where there remains much to be done and where, if they can get the full cooperation of all the parties, we would hope to see during this extension of the mandate some serious progress made.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian delegation would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council this month. We will cooperate fully with you on all matters that are before the Council.

We would also like to express our appreciation and admiration for your predecessor in this post, the Permanent Representative of Venezuela Ambassador Taylhardat, for his very effective guidance of the Security Council in September.

The Russian delegation supported the resolution just adopted by the Security Council, which provides for a six-month extension of the United Nations Protection Force deployed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

We consider this decision to be a very important one. At a time when efforts to find a peaceful settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina have reached a critical stage, the United Nations Protection Force plays a particularly important role in stabilizing the situation and creating conditions for implementation of agreements which we hope will nevertheless still be signed.

On the question of Croatia, Russia believes that the United Nations Force should ensure full implementation by the Croatian Government and by the Krajina Serbs of provisions of the United

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

Nations peace plan in Croatia.

We consider very timely the resolution's call for immediate conclusion by the parties of a strictly implemented cease-fire agreement. We were pleased to see that the letter from the Prime Minister of the Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Radoje Kontic - I refer here to document S/26464 - confirms that

> "The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia supports the Vance Plan and is interested in having it observed and implemented by all parties." (annex, p. 2)

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

The letter continues:

> "In this, as in the past, you can count on the full support and assistance of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia". (ibid)

This is a positive position that is taken by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and it is consonant with the appeal contained in paragraph 4 of the resolution that has just been adopted by the Security Council.

It is perfectly clear that the United Nations forces must be able, without hindrance, to implement their peacemaking mandate in all the Republics of the former Yugoslavia. Withdrawing them from Croatia could have catastrophic consequences. It could lead to a sharp deterioration of the situation in the United Nations protected areas and in the "pink zones", and could lead to an escalation of the entire conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

Pursuant to the resolution that has just been adopted, the Security Council will continue to review urgently the extension of close air support to UNPROFOR in Croatia. Here we proceed from the premise that the mechanism to be provided for such air support will be the same as is provided for in resolution 836 (1993) - namely, that appropriate decisions will be taken

> "under the authority of the Security Council and subject to close coordination with the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR". (resolution 836 (1993), para. 10)

It is very important that agreement be reached in Croatia on confidence-building measures, which would not only make life easier for the ordinary people there - Croatians and Serbians - but would also improve the atmosphere. This could be promoted by restoring the water and electricity supplies and communications and by satisfying other economic needs of the people.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

In our opinion, the decision to extend UNPROFOR's mandate will contribute to implementation of all earlier Security Council resolutions that deal with a settlement in the former Yugoslavia.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Brazil.

I should like to express the Brazilian Government's recognition and appreciation of the admirable work being done by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, where its personnel have often been subject to inadmissible threats, harassment and armed attacks. The Secretary-General has described those very difficult conditions in his latest report, which tells of a situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia much aggravated by instances of lack of cooperation by the parties involved.

Under such adverse conditions, it should come as no surprise that UNPROFOR's ability to carry out its mandate has been seriously hampered. Notwithstanding those difficulties, we share the assessment of the Secretary-General that UNPROFOR has played an important role in preventing a very tense situation from deteriorating even further.

When the future of any United Nations peace-keeping operation is being discussed the views of the host country regarding the operation itself are to be taken into account. In this sense, we note that significant efforts have been made to accommodate concerns expressed by the Government of Croatia.

Brazil voted in favour of resolution 871 (1993) in the hope that the renewal of the mandate of UNPROFOR will be beneficial in easing the tensions and facilitating the attainment of a just and lasting peace in the region as a whole. In order for that decision

(The President)

to be meaningful, it is essential that both the Croatian Government and the local Serb authorities cease their hostilities at once, agree on confidence-building measures and cooperate fully with UNPROFOR and with the co-Chairmen in their mediating efforts.

The decision of the Security Council to continue to review the suggestion by the Secretary-General on a possible extension to Croatian territory of the air-support scheme in place for the safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina reflects the sensitivity of that issue. As a matter of principle, Brazil believes that any decision that might entail authorization of the use of force must be handled by the Security Council with the utmost caution.

The Security Council is to reconsider UNPROFOR's mandate in two months. Let us hope that by then the situation may have improved, both in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, so that UNPROFOR can fulfil its duties in a more favourable climate.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.